301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
[584] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
797 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where'ye going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mučte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

593
[123]

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

855
[593]
[123]

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

593
594
562

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

592
596
609
[861]
[857]

the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

592

When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children *eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of* a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

[504]
[513]
[853]
592
264
562

592
606

Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

584
627

Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

581
584

If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

[562]

584
[581]
[562]

determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined!

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /ʔiⁿyi/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /ʔiⁿyi/ was flouted.

584
627

Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Cameroneș. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /ʔiⁿyi/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Cameroneș, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

[585]

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the house (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiaguño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiaguño Anapa's first

684 x
[696
[279

woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

[837
[783
[562]

684 x
837
562
[694]

The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ñaⁿ̃i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.